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CONTENTS

- **Zikr-i-Habib**
  - (a) The Holy Prophet Mohammad
  - (b) Hazrat Ahmad
- **A Dream in Politics**
  —Swami Dharma Tiratha, B.A., L
- **The Islamic Method of Slaughter**
  —A. R. Dard, M
- **Eid-ul-Azha**
  —Shaikh Mubarak Ahmad, M
- **Gleanings and Glimpses**

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Review of Religions

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بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

نحمده ونصلي على رسوله الكريم

ZIKR-I-HABIB

The Holy Prophet Muhammad

It is related by Mogheerah bin Shu'bah that :—

A solar eclipse took place, on the day on which the Holy Prophet's son Ibraheem passed away, and people ascribed the eclipse to his demise. When the Holy Prophet heard this he said: "The sun and the moon do not go into eclipse for the death or life of any one. These are signs of God: when you see them occur, stand in prayer to beseech His grace and mercy.

—*Bokhāree.*

Hazrat Ahmad, the Promised Messiah

(Statement by Syed Zainul Abedeen Waliullah Shah, received by us through Nazarat Taleef-o-Tasneef. Continued from previous issue—*Ed.*)

When I was about six years of age, I was one day playing *kabaddee* with my friends in the compound of the Civil Hospital in Raayya. I tripped a player off his feet and ran towards our house in blind haste. My mother had just then performed her *wuzoo* in a

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chilmichi and was offering '*Asr* prayers. The *chilmichi* was lying in front of the door, just past the doorway. I stumbled on the threshold and fell heavily on the *chilmichi*. One of my legs doubled up under me and my knee was pressed down violently in to the neck of the *chilmichi* by the weight of the fall. I became unconscious and have no recollection of how my knee was pulled out. When consciousness returned I remember being lifted by a servant. I was crying with pain. The hurt which I suffered was so serious that I became a cripple for life. After my father had accepted *bai'at* at the hands of the Promised Messiah he requested him to pray for my recovery. It was in 1902 probably that Doctor Hegu[1] came to Sialkot as Civil Surgeon, and he visited the hospital at Raayya on a tour of inspection. My knee was shown to him and following a conversation between him and my father I was taken to Sialkot for treatment. Here, after intervals, my knee was operated upon many times under chloroform. These operations succeeded to the extent that I was just enabled to touch the ground with my foot, but my leg was so weak and crippled even after these operations that I could not walk at all without the use of crutches. When I came to Qadian I brought these crutches with me.

When my father came to Qadian on three months leave, the Promised Messiah very kindly gave us accommodation in his own house. One day after '*Asr* prayer, when Hazrat Ummul Momeneen had gone out for a walk attended by some ladies, I saw the Promised Messiah sitting alone. I approached and began to fan him. The Promised Messiah at that time was sitting on the ground on a piece of mat. He was wearing a muslin shirt and his head was bare. As I stood fanning him, his silken hair waved gently under the fan. By that time I had heard the *Hadeeth* which describes the person of the Messiah expected by the Muslims, and I remember I noted the truth of this description in regard to the hair of the Promised

1. The manuscript of this article having been received in Urdu we cannot vouch for the accuracy of this spelling—*Ed.*

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Messiah. I also remember that there stirred in me a desire to kiss these silken strands, but I could not make bold to do so.

While I was thinking these thoughts the Promised Messiah turned to look at me. He smiled and said :

" You must be tired, please sit down."

Then he inquired about my knee. I told him how it felt and requested him to pray for me. The Promised Messiah answered that he had prayed for me a good deal, and he very kindly inquired from me the names of my younger brothers. The Promised Messiah was writing some thing at that time.

Hardly a week had passed after this when my crutches were smashed by a class-mate of mine who is now known as Dr. Fazal Din. Qadian at that time was such a small place that I could not buy here even a bamboo stick to take the place of my crutches ; and at last a tonga driver who plied between Qadian and Batala was given some money to buy me a bamboo stick from Batala. But he forgot all about it and the stick was many days in coming, while I fended without my crutches as best as I could. When I walked I walked leaning against the walls or used a reed like stick that came to my hand, but during these days I began to feel that my leg was getting stronger ; and by and by I was able to dispense with my crutches altogether.

I am convinced that this remarkable recovery and the miraculous chance through which I regained the use of my leg was due solely to the blessings of the Promised Messiah's prayers. The Promised Messiah had recommended massage of the injured knee with oil mixed with camphor. This was the simple remedy that I used, and my recovery is all the more notable when we bear in mind this simple treatment. The slight limp left in my leg has never given me any trouble either in walking on foot or in riding. I have also taken part in a military campaign but I do not remember ever having felt seriously handicapped on account of this leg.

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We used to hear at that time that the Promised Messiah often went out into the fields alone to pray. One day I was standing with Hazrat Khalifa-tul-Messiah II, when we saw the Promised Messiah going out. We decided to follow him. When the Promised Messiah noticed our intention he said something to Hazrat Khalifa-tul-Messiah II, but I do not remember what it was. The Promised Messiah then went back to his house and went out again by a back door. It appears that he did not like our going with him. As I found later on, he went into the fields in the direction of village Buttran. Opposition against him was very bitter; there were enemies on all sides, while friends were very few. But this, it would appear, never counted for any thing at all with the Promised Messiah. He had supreme confidence in the Divine promise of protection.

When the earthquake occurred on April 4, 1905, the Promised Messiah took up his quarters in his garden to the south of the town. We the students of the school, too, went into camp in the same garden. The Promised Messiah lived in the lodge which this garden contained and we, the students, used to keep watch over it. To the east of this lodge there was a mulberry tree. Near this tree I and Khwaja Abdul Rahman, Forest Ranger of Kashmir, were once keeping watch. Through the darkness of the night there loomed before us a human form which came towards us. As it came nearer we found that it was the Promised Messiah himself. On learning that we were keeping watch he was greatly pleased and patted us affectionately. Our joy at having won his pleasure was of course boundless.

The Promised Messiah was very kind and considerate to students of the school who came to Qadian from other places far and near. When Abdul Kareem of Yadgeer was bitten by a mad dog the Promised Messiah was very anxious on his account.[1] One night about

1. This was probably when Abdul Kareem was attacked by Hydrophobia after he had undergone the specific treatment prescribed by Medical Science for the purpose—Compiler.

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the time of *'Isha* prayer he sent for Dr. Abdullah and probably Maulvi Sher Ali or Mufti Muhammad Sadaq, and gave them *Roghan-i-Bādām* to be administered to the patient. As far as I can remember he also directed that some purgative too should be used. When these directions were given to the above-mentioned gentleman I was not present, but having received them they came straight to the boarding house of the school and told us about the instructions they had received. They also related to us a *Hadeeth* to the effect that whoever nurses a sick man, he is protected by God against that ailment. In referring to this *Hadeeth* the purpose of the Promised Messiah was to induce us, the fellow students of the patient, to spare no pains in nursing him. Many of us at once volunteered for this duty and I was the first to do so. I was followed by Khwaja Abdul Rahman who was my class-mate.

On the day following we remained on this duty from morning till night. Abdul Kareem was kept in the second storey of the house belonging to Syed Muhammad Ali Shah. I clearly remember that whenever the patient moved or spoke we fell frightened lest in a fit he should bite us, and at such times our eyes always flew to the staircase as a means of escape in case we saw any sign of ourselves being attacked. When it was drawing towards evening Abdul Kareem looked at me. He recognised me and spoke to me in a gentle voice: "Shah Sahib, please come near; do not be afraid; I am feeling better." Thereupon we sat by his side and talked to him.

During the time he was ill a telegram was sent to the hospital authorities at Kasauli who were specialists in treating this disease and from whom Abdul Kareem had already taken the full course of treatment after he had been bitten by a mad dog. When he was attacked by the disease in spite of this treatment a telegram was sent to this hospital and the reply came promptly. "Sorry nothing can be done for Abdul Kareem."

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My younger brother is a Major in the Imperial Medical Service. When he was a medical student he attended a lecture in his college on Hydrophobia. The speaker said that there was no cure known to Medical Science after the attack had actually developed. At this my brother got up and inquired if in such cases the disease was really incurable. The Professor with full confidence and emphasis replied that this was really so. Then my brother related to him the story of the wonderful cure of Abdul Kareem of which my brother was an eye witness like myself. The Professor listened attentively and remarked at the end that this cure was nothing less than a miracle. This incident was related to me by my younger brother Major Habibullah Shah, I.M.S.

(To be continued.)

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A DREAM IN POLITICS !*

(A Vision of India's Future)

By Swami Dharma Tiratha, B.A., LL.B.

Political agitation is the fashion of the day throughout the world, and in our own country we can afford to be proud that in this respect, at any rate, we are not lagging behind. Political agitation means that somebody who is not in power is trying to get into power. In most if not all cases it does not signify anything more than a competition for ascendancy in the government of the country. Even where there are no vital differences of interest or opinion we find people dividing themselves into political parties just for the sake of putting up a fight. A politician is essentially a fighter and without the fight for votes, for offices, for power, his life would be miserable indeed. The occasional elections, the change in the ministers, the wordy quarrels and attacks in the councils, the controversies in the newspapers, the public meetings, these are the very life of a politically minded people, and are as necessary for their happiness as the cinema and the museums. But a politician is a fighter only when there is no danger. You can never get an ounce of earnest, honest fighting on the battlefield from a politician. He is clever, however, at creating political crises which lead to international warfare. Domestic political fighting has become so much man's nature among all peoples that they sincerely believe that an occasional armed war between countries is not altogether an evil, and if it is an evil, it is but a necessary evil, which does much good indirectly. They think that international warfare is inevitable and we should be glad if an opportunity arises for good fighting, of course, in the cause of peace and righteousness.

*This article was written in 1936 but not published.

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Not many have the courage publicly to confess this mentality but every one knows that politicians who believe in the inevitability of war have been in most cases responsible for international conflagrations resulting in the massacre of innocent men, women and children. Those gentlemen at the head of Governments, sitting in their arm-chairs, have little compunction in signing the disastrous ultimatums which cause the destruction of the achievements of decades of peace and civilisation and industry. The political organisations, by which we mean the states and governments of the most advanced countries, are organisations for war and the qualification of the most successful government is heartlessness in precipitating inevitable bloodshed for trifling causes in the name of an innocent people who have actually very little part in the fatal decision which the leaders make.

Such is the highly inflammable material with which modern governments are constituted—inflammable more by virtue of its dangerous composition and character than by any external causes. In such an atmosphere of martial law stinking with the smell of powder and shot—abstract political maxims are in vogue only in class-rooms and in the unread books of the library. Though what we are going to say may sound a mere platitude to students of politics these are days when even elementary political truths have to be repeatedly driven home to the people who are, all their lives, living in the tumult of war. We have to tell them, in season and out of season, that military warfare is not a necessity and that the end and object of governments is peace and not perpetual preparation for war. A sweeping view of the evolution of states and nations through the ages will help us to visualise the goal towards which all nations are moving, and it is necessary to keep the goal constantly in view if we are not to stray into suicidal blunders. In fact, forgetfulness of the goal of government is responsible for the incredible disasters which we are drawing down upon our own heads in the name of freedom, nationalism and power. No apology is therefore required

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for making a few observations about the nature of the evolution of states with reference to the question of peace.

Compulsory States

Whatever text-books may say on the subject, for the purposes of our discussion there are three distinct stages in the evolution of states. (1) In the first and earliest stage all states are, what we may call Compulsory States—organisations imposed on the people by a conqueror, leader or king. We may call them also personal states because the highest authority in the land is an individual or a few individuals, and the state is said to belong to the ruler, as for instance in the case of the Indian States. The Governments are formed not by the will of the people but are established by the ruler. The chief characteristic of this stage is that the states are military states. If we examine the ancient states of the Greeks, the Romans and the Moghuls, the Rajputs and the Rajas of the South, all of them will be found to be military states. The foremost function of the government was to maintain a strong fighting army. To march into the midst of inoffensive people and subdue them by strength of arms was the glorious privilege of kings and emperors. No justification was required to embark on war. The desire for conquest was the legitimate ambition of every ruler. The greatness of a state depended on its military strength. We read in the Hindu Puranas that the Kings used to celebrate the Aswametha which was a challenge to the world to come and fight if anybody dared. Only a king who had subdued all the smaller rulers of the country and left no one to question his supremacy could celebrate this *yajna*. States were therefore organisations for war and conquest, for preserving and increasing the royal power and prestige.

Accidental States

2. In the second stage, states are not compulsory, but we may say accidental organisations, a sort of

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natural growth, a product of history. They are not personal states but national states. The government is formed by the people and the state is the people. The highest authority is the people and not the government which exists only at the will of the people. The states at this stage are not primarily organisations for war but for exploitation, *i.e.*, economic warfare. The states are economic groups. The British Empire is what it is not because any king or the people deliberately made it in its present form. It is just an accident of history, and you proudly call it a natural growth. We find traders going to America and settling down there through many decades. Then somehow a Canada is formed. Similarly the United States of America come into existence. So an Australia came into being at the other end of the globe. No doubt you will find occasions when there was a deliberate intention to expand, but it was not with the object of mere conquest or extension of power. The motive is primarily an economic one. Now we are told that Japan wants to extend her empire over the Asian continent. In the first place the Japanese do not admit that there is any such desire. The utmost they would confess is that Japan being a small country with a large population and large industries, it is quite necessary to find room for economic expansion. Just as war was a legitimate ambition of rulers in olden days, economic exploitation is considered quite a decent job by all nations to-day. Canada, Australia, America, Africa, Japan, are all states born of economic exploitation. The primary object also is exploitation. The passionate attachment of England to India is confessedly an economic love affair.

The various small states of Europe were in the early stages carved out by individual conquerors or kings. But to-day they are mere accidents. Many of them remain separate because they were separate and continue to be so for no particular reason. There is no vital principle of nationality. They are military states in the sense that they are armed to the teeth and not in the sense that conquest is their avowed aim. They are all at the present day guided by economic

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motives and interests and in that way are economic states. Military power itself is used to further economic exploitation.

Voluntary States

3. What is the third stage?—the stage we are step by step approaching? States which have risen to this third stage are what we may term voluntary states —organisations voluntarily formed by the people and existing because the people desire it, and capable of being dissolved at the will of the people. When we attain this status, the states are no longer personal states or national states, but international states, because all the separate governments will recognise a common international power. The end and aim of the International State will be not power or economic exploitation but peace and the development of ideals. The smaller constituent states are convenient groups for furthering the ends of peace more or less like clubs which may be formed and dissolved at the will of the members. Federations like the United States of America represent a half-way-house between a national and an international state. The constituent states recognise a central power. The next advance in order to develop the principle of voluntary organisation would be to make it more and more easy for the constituent states to leave the United States and be an independent power or join another group of states if they so desired. The union of states would be entirely on a voluntary basis. But before that time arrives, it would be necessary to evolve a common world organisation to which all states will owe allegiance. When the basis of organisation becomes purely voluntary, not only states may dissolve themselves at will but it will be possible for any subject of a state to leave his own nation and become the citizen of another state at his pleasure, subject only to the international law common to all. The states will be like joint stock companies or co-operative societies established by interested shareholders, or will be like the electoral constituencies of the present day. The electoral constituencies are

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divisions purely for convenience of election and the government may at its discretion break them up and create new ones. In the same manner, if the people favour it, the world government will break up independent states and establish new ones with autonomous internal powers, but, all the same, subject to the world government. Men will remain together as states because they like it and find it convenient. There will be no compulsion, no motive of power or economic exploitation or racial exclusiveness. That is the ideal we are slowly evolving.

Present-day Russia is the most successful attempt so far made at establishing an international state. But Socialism can succeed only if the world as a whole accepts its principles and exploitation is finally banned from the world. The existence of even a single national state will be an obstacle to the growth of a socialistic state.

Situation in India

Remembering these general principles, let us study the situation in India. (1) Our government is certainly a compulsory government but not a personal one. Though it is not a national state, it is also not a military state. It is not an economic state either, because it is not interested in exploiting any other country. It is an accident of history. At the same time there are so many Indian states and princes who represent an old order, the very first stage of compulsory state. The Indian states are a permanent reminder to us that we have not passed out of the elementary stage of personal rule where the state is treated as the property of the ruler. India as a whole does not come under any one class. But one thing is certain—that we are more in the first stage than in the second. Much of what we see in the form of political organisations in our country are anachronisms in the present world. They are all out of date having no bearing on the lives and ideals of the people.

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Infancy of Political Consiousness

The national characteristic which has to be developed in a compulsory state is the love of liberty. Compulsion, the personal rule of a king or military control are a challenge to the inborn love of freedom of mankind, and when that love is roused and made sufficiently emphatic a compulsory state becomes impossible. We were in the first stage all those centuries under the Hindu Rajas, the Rajputs, the Buddhist Emperors and the Moghuls, and yet we have not developed the spirit of liberty sufficiently to be able to pass on to the second stage. We are in the very infant class of political consciousness. If any proof were required we have only to study the caste system. It is a social order based on the denial of liberty. It is a form of slavery but more disastrous than slavery as known in the West. In the West slavery did not establish hereditary degradation and the evil was not so deep-rooted in man's nature as it is among us. Caste is certainly more heinous than slavery and still it continues to keep its hold on the people of India though slavery has been abolished. When military states began to decline in the West and the national states came into existence, the sense of liberty had naturally so much developed among the people that slavery was realised to be a denial of national liberty and it was abolished by international consent. Slavery had become an offence to the international conscience. The evils of caste, however, are not fully understood by the peoples of the West. The educated and high-caste Hindus have always been clever enough to give a cultural polish to caste and thus save it from the universal condemnation which it so richly deserves. In the West, the capitalists and the slave-traders maintained that slavery was a blessing to the slaves themselves and that they did not want to be emancipated. But that argument did not survive the light of day. The same argument is used by the caste-Hindus also. They argue that caste is a highly beneficial institution and even the depressed man is not willing to give up caste. Well, that aspect of the system exposes the naked heinousness of the entire

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social order which has permanently incapacitated the people to think as free men. No Hindu, even the most cultured, is able to think of man as man without the label of caste gradations. That is the terrible slave mentality of the entire Hindu population. Caste to-day is more a mentality than an institution, because caste rules, except with regard to inter-marriage and inter-dining, are not observed by any one. They are every moment violated. The mentality exists as a system because it has been sanctioned and protected by the law of the Greatest Empire the world has seen. But for the protection afforded by that law caste cannot logically exist at the present day. The caste mentality is being passed on to the Christian and Muhammadan populations of India because the converts to these religions take the Hindu influence along with them. Such a curse it is, following man to the very hell and persecuting him to the ends of the earth! The Christian missionaries in India complain that the Christian community is being slowly contaminated by caste poison. Even some prominent thinkers in the West have been deceived into believing that caste has a great cultural contribution to make and is worth preserving, any even emulating. The true enormities of the vicious system have not been sufficiently exposed and therefore international opinion has not been kindled against it as it ought to be. In the meanwhile friends of India abroad would be doing her a service if they abstain from drawing attractive pictures from their imagination of the undiluted evil which is caste. The day is fast approaching when the whole crime of caste will be exposed and world conscience will be obliged to condemn it unequivocally and suppress it by all the forces of government. Even if that day is not near, should it be possible to establish a really national government in India caste will be wiped out mercilessly. There can be no liberty with caste. There can be no Indian nation with caste, just as there can be no nation of slaves.

India Unfit to be a National State

By nature also India seems not to be destined to progress regularly to a national state of the type of

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modern countries. Because an economic state of the modern type is possible only in a comparatively small group of people and a small area. All the smaller nations of the world are coming out more and more powerful in the economic struggle : and the large countries with large populations are all lagging behind, and gradually breaking up or are broken up. India, China, and Russia before the Revolution are instances. The breaking up of the British Empire into smaller independent units is another proof that the present political systems cannot unite large areas and populations. The tendency of wealth and economic interests is always to converge to small centres and groups. Economic exploitation is intrinsically a force of internal disintegration and can never be a basis of lasting co-operation. (2) Secondly an economic state, as pointed out already, is a child of necessity. There must be strong need for exploitation if such a state is to thrive. India is one of the richest countries in the world and there are still available undeveloped areas and resources for many years to come, so that there is no compelling need or moral justification to exploit other countries.

The national characteristic which people have to develop in an economic state is the love of equality. Economic exploitation inevitably leads to wide inequalities of wealth and happiness until the differences become an intolerable curse and men's minds turn to the problem of removing the inequalities and establishing equality. That is what we find taking place all over the globe to-day. All thinking people are disgusted with the present conditions of society in which life is a perpetual struggle, anxiety and worry with inequalities and injustices of all conceivable forms. There is a wide spread yearning to get out of this heartless exploitation and the principles of socialism are steadily gaining ground. When love of peace and equality becomes strong enough and universal enough, an economic or capitalistic state of the modern type will become impossible and men will press on to an international system of government.

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Federation not likely to succeed

A federation is a half-way house between a national and an international state and that is what is offered to us in the Reforms. Whether it is a true federation or not is a question for practical politicians and not dreamers like us. Even a federation is not likely to be a great success in India unless certain very important conditions are fulfilled. The fact is that we have not yet qualified ourselves in the first stage and so the love of liberty has not become a sufficiently strong national characteristic, as is evidenced by the existence of the castes. Secondly we have not had till now the experiences of the second stage of an economic state or nation-state, and therefore the desire for equality has not become a national trait. Thirdly in order to make a federation a success there should be some sort of fraternal feeling, a sense of being brethren of the same motherland. Apart from the social ill-feelings which separate community from community, there are also religious antagonism of a virulent type which are great obstacles to the growth of brotherly feelings and the consciousness of a common nationality. *We do not mean that religious differences need necessarily be an obstacle to a united national life.* We have not only religious differences but also religious antagonisms, often virulent in character, and hence the feeling of a common brotherhood is made very difficult. There is no possibility of a dependable united organisation in the absence of mutual confidence between castes and creeds. Such a state of affairs is certainly a danger to any federation.

India's Goal not National Independence of the usual type

It seems also probable that in the divine dispensation India was not intended to be a nation, *i.e.*, an economic state of exploiters. If in one of the richest parts of the world a fifth of the human race were to say that that country was their own and they were going to use all the natural resources and their numerical strength to exploit other countries and peoples,

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that would be a terrible menace to world peace and general human well-being. Let us imagine for a moment that the English people throw away their hold on India and leave us bag and baggage. What would be the first great problem that will face us. India will have to organise a large army, a large navy, and a huge store of machines of destruction, planes, gases and bombs, in proportion to her importance and area, and the magnitude of the danger which threatens her all around. She is surrounded on all sides by ambitious, well-organised, unscrupulous and strong rivals and very great precautions will indeed be necessary to preserve her independence. India will be another addition to the group of blood-thirsty, murderous nations of the world, another menace to world tranquillity. All that bloody job is now being done for us by others, thus saving us from a good deal of direct blame except for our submissiveness. The internal dangers are no less serious, and will involve us in unthinkable conflicts so long as the ideal of exploitation is the key-note of our civilization.

There is also another question to be considered. What after all are the benefits of independence, I mean independence of the sort which other countries are now enjoying or rather suffering from? Every independent country in the world seems to be more discontended, more miserable and unhappy, and more dangerous to the world as a whole than India in spite of her present disabilities. In almost all instances, nationalism has been proved to be a failure. Many thinking people are yearning to get out of that snare. The precious economic and political machines they have reared up are daily breaking down and proving unfit to give them peace and security. With these terrible experiences before our eyes, why should any people be mad after so-called independence which is nothing but wholesale, organised selfishness and exploitation? It would be blasphemous to speak against national sentiments and ambitions in the present state of mob-mentality. But sometimes we have to call a spade a spade. Territorial nationality and economic

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states have proved unqualified failures and a positive danger everywhere. We in India are only just becoming fascinated by the glare of that world-conflagration into which we want to rush headlong like moths into the flame. *Independence would indeed be worth striving for if we are ready to set a better example to the world and give a new direction to man's life. Are we ready ?*

The inferences from all that we have said above are :—(1) In many respects we are yet in the elementary stage of political consciousness, with stupendous obstacles to the realisation of unity and common national feeling. (2) By nature India seems to be unfit for, and by God forbidden to develop that sort of selfish, exploiting, nationality which is the fashion in other countries. (3) Thirdly though India has not evolved the international consciousness which will fit her to be a world state, the country is so large, the population so huge, the differences of culture, religion, customs and manners so numerous, and the interests so varied and complex that she is for practical purposes a world in herself. Her ancient culture and ideals, however dim now, seem to preserve her to revive into a world state.

India—a World State

Great men tell us that India has a great mission to fulfil, that she has a prominent part to play in the coming world reorganisation in the new era that is dawning upon us. Her glorious past seems to suggest that she is going to have a no less glorious future. In her present crippled condition nobody can visualise properly what exactly her part is going to be. In our humble opinion, India must be the first World State established primarily for world peace and not for exploitation. If that is going to be our ideal, instead of utilising our national strength for the achievement of so dangerous and unworthy an object as self-seeking territorial nationality, we must try to eradicate the internal evils which are a disgrace to us at present and

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a stumbling block to all further progress. (1) We have to develop and popularise not national ideals but socialistic and international ideals. India is herself a group of nations. (2) Our highest objective should not be power for ourselves, not freedom to be masters in our own country as others are masters in their countries, but world peace, human brotherhood. (3) For these ends and purposes we must use the weapon of Non-violence, of Truth and Dharma, and not arms and bombs.

The ideals we have to imbibe and the institutions we have to develop, in order to qualify ourselves to become a world state are summed up in the three words, One Race, One Religion, One God for man, the motto held up by Sree Narayana Gurdev of Malabar. One race means the essential unity of life and blood and oneness of all humanity. In the words of H. G. Wells: "We, you and I, are not only parts in a thought process, but parts of one flow of blood and life. Disregarding the chances of inter-marriage, each one of us had two parents, four grand parents, eight great grand parents and so on backward, until very soon in less than fifty generations we should find that but for the qualification introduced, we should have all the world's inhabitants of that time as our progenitors. For a hundred generations it must hold absolutely true that every one of that time who has issue living now is ancestral to all of us——and there is something more. We are all going to mingle our blood again. We cannot keep ourselves apart——A time will come in less than fifty generations when all the population of the world will have my blood, and I and my worst enemy will not be able to say which child is his or mine——Our individualities, for nations and states and races are all but bubbles and clusters of foam upon the great stream of the blood of the species. I think this real solidarity of humanity is a fact that is only being slowly apprehended, that is an idea that we, who have come to realise it, have to assist in thinking into the collective mind."

One Religion means the unity of laws which govern and ought to govern all mankind, social, moral,

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economic and spiritual laws. We know how the Vaishnavites and Saivites; and Dwaitins, Adwatins and Visishta Adwatins, the numerous communities from the lowest to the highest, who are all by belief, custom, manners and laws and superstitions irreconcilably divided, are proud to say they are Hindus. Their religion is one in spite of the contradictions. In the same way, however much the various religions of the world may now be antagonistic, the day is soon approaching when all of them will live amicably like members of the same family. That will be one religion. Guruswami used to say: "If such divergent creeds can be brought under one religion (Hinduism) where is the unreasonableness in bringing under one religion all the so-called different religions which teacher after teacher has given to the world with slight variations to suit the altered times and circumstances, but with the one common aim of the liberation of all mankind. It is astonishing that those who preach of the unity of their own religion in the midst of the bewildering multiplicity of churches and denominations and schools composing it and who glorify the variety in the unity are not able to take all mankind in one view and find the unity amidst the diversities of creed and the beautiful variety in the unity."

The world is gradually moving towards this consummation, and if only we are wise enough to understand the signs of the time the entire human race is pulsating with the desire to unite, to end the misery and the exploitation, and to find a way of peace and brotherly life. The late Sree Narayana Guruswami is the Guide of this new way among the Hindus. His teachings have revolutionised the life-attitude of many lakhs of followers. They have come to stay in our land. It is also our duty to help the evolution of a world government, a central government of all mankind, whether here or elsewhere, it does not matter. If India and England can co-operate for that purpose, the British Empire would become the first nucleus of a world state with India furnishing the ideals and holding the balance and England acting as the great organising power, the

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political genius of a World Brotherhood. These are dreams. But what we are dreaming to-night may become facts with the next dawn of light and love from God.

Editor's Note

At the end of this article, so courageous in its sincerity, it would not, we venture to think, be out of place for us to point out that the World State and World Religion it visualises is found in its best form only in Islam. The first principle of Islam is belief in ONE God and recognition of all the Prophets of God whenever and wherever raised. The teachings of these Prophets are found preserved, with suitable amplifications, in the Holy Quran. The Scriptures attributed to these teachers now known to be in the hands of their followers have, through the passage of time, suffered from human interference and cannot therefore be relied upon absolutely. Islam which implies man's willingness to surrender himself into the hands of his Creator to bemoulded into the divine shape which is the Aim of Creation, represents the sum total, the purest essence and the best amplification of the teachings of all the Prophets ; and therefore it is the *one* religion that can unite all mankind.

The Islamic State is a World State based on the grand conception of the Brotherhood of Man. It makes no distinction between white and black, rich and poor, man and woman——as human beings all have equal rights. The world was invited 1300 years ago to enter this International State, but the invitation was ignored and man chose to pursue the path of racial aggrandisement and national rivalries. Now he must pay the price.

But the Divine Scheme had not been and cannot be frustrated by human follies. The Inner Soul of man will not be satisfied with counterfeits or trash : it continues to clamour for the Real.

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A World State and a World Religion are now the only alternative to ruin, and mankind must either come to Islam or perish. *Its teachings stand to be vindicated and proved by human experience.*

On these grounds we earnestly commend Islam to our learned friend for serious and systematic study, and hope that in it he will find the light which he longs for.

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THE ISLAMIC METHOD OF SLAUGHTER

(By A. R. Dard)

The head of the felled animal or bird having been extended, the slaughter takes hold of a portion of the skin of the neck between the thumb and fore-finger. Then saying بسم الله الله اكبر he slaughters the animal usually with a sharp and smooth knife. The large blood vessels of the neck, the 'carotid arteries' and jugular veins which supply the brain with blood containing oxygen, are completely divided; and the cut severs all structures on the ventral side of the vertebral column. The central muscles being severed, the dorsal muscles at once pull back the head, leaving an unrestricted vent for the blood. Immediately, blood spurts from the severed carotid arteries in a jet. The blood contained in the body is rapidly pumped out by the heart, which continues to beat for a few minutes.

The cut is continuous and uninterrupted and the knife is not pressed down vertically but it is drawn across the neck horizontally. The cut is not a stab. It is neither low down nor high up, but in the centre of the neck.

This is a description of the ordinary Muslim process of slaughtering animals for food. But it should be remembered that there is no blind rigidity in Islam because such rigidity really tends to defeat its own purpose. A universal and practical religion must have a measure of elasticity in its regulations to make it really serviceable in meeting the varying requirements of man. For instance, if a knife is not available Islam allows, in an emergency, the use of anything sharp-edged which would bleed the animal, but it allows no cruelty. In the same way no rigid method of 'casting' the animal is prescribed by Islam. If necessary the 'casting' may be dispensed with altogether. All that is required is that the method should be humane, con-

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venient and effective. It should involve unnecessary hardship, suffering and pain neither to animal nor to man. Camels for example may be bled standing with their legs tied. Game is also permissible in Islam. A bird or an animal killed with a gun or an arrow is lawful, but not the one which is strangled, knocked down, gored or beaten to death with a stick or blows.

It should also be remembered that the essential condition of making flesh lawful is that the bird or beast should be shot, slaughtered or killed by bleeding in the name of God. The formula بسم الله الله اكبر must be recited at the time of killing. Otherwise the flesh would be unclean and unlawful. The space at my disposal does not allow me to discuss here the necessity, significance and importance of this Islamic injunction. All that I would like to remark here in passing is that it has a moral and spiritual value. Man cannot live by flesh alone.

Whatever be the method of ordinary slaughter, animals have to be driven to market and pushed, pull ed, poked, and tail-twisted by drovers in order to make them go first into the pens outside and then into the slaughter house itself. By no means can they escape some measure of rough handling. Some animals must be 'cast' or 'thrown' so that their throats may be in a position such as to render the cut effective. From the nature of the case the slaughter of large animals for food purposes must always be a repulsive sight to the ordinary person whose emotions, being power-fully stimulated, lead him to draw conclusions as to the animal's sensations which are contrary to physiological facts.

In a sense all killing is cruel, and if we are to avoid cruelty to animals we should logically abstain from the use of flesh as food and be vegetarians. But Divine Law permits the consumption of the flesh of certain animals; they are created for the service of man, even for his consumption. Hence all that can be reasonably said is that animals should be killed with a minimum of suffering and with due regard to the sentiments and principles of humanity. So the Islamic method forbids the inflicting of unnecessary pain.

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The only pain felt by an animal killed in the Islamic way of slaughtering is that of the cut in the skin. This is slight and momentary. Children often cut their skin without being aware of it. And herbivorous mammals are said to be less sensitive than human beings.

When the cut is made the bleeding is extremely rapid. Cutting of the carotid arteries, by depriving the brain of its blood supply, produces practically instantaneous loss of consciousness. A continuous supply of fresh blood at a high pressure is essential to maintain consciousness. Sir Wm. M. Bayliss M.A., D.Sc., LL.D., F.R.S., Professor of General Physiology in University College, London, says : " It is really indeed the oxygen carried by the fresh blood that is the necessary agent for the continuance of the activity of the brain." Sir Leonard Hill, M.B., LL.D., F.R.S., says : " The fact that the volume of the brain, as seen through a trephine hole, at once shrinks on severance of the carotid arteries and does not recover, shows that there is no compensatory return of circulation by way of the vertebral arteries. Prof. T. B. Wood, C.B.E., M.A., F.R.S., of Cambridge, and Prof. J. Barcroft, C.B.E., M.A., F.R.S., and L. F. Newman, M.A., Director of Agriculture, Cambridge, say : " the intact vertebrals could not possibly maintain a sufficient blood pressure in the brain appreciably to delay loss of consciousness." T. H. Openshaw, C.M.G., M.S., F.R.C.S., Surgeon, London Hospital, says : " It is impossible to maintain the cerebral blood pressure when both carotids are cut. A sudden profound and permanent fall of the cerebral blood pressure results. This causes profound cerebral anæmia, dulled consciousness, and more or less complete dissensitiveness to painful sensations."

Sir Leonard Hill throws further light on this subject. He says : " Many suppose that the movements of the head, legs and tail which quickly follow the cutting of the throat and the efforts at raising of the head and body from the recumbent position which may occur in the case of an unfastened beast, likewise the presence of the corneal reflex, and the deep, noisy

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respiration, are signs of consciousness. It is asserted that this consciousness is brought about by a compensatory supply of blood by way of the vertebral arteries.

"In veterinary circles the assertion of a persistent or returning consciousness and capacity of feeling pain is based on the fact that the unfastened beast may make efforts to get up and escape. The opinion, however, of all leading physiologists, including that of our world-wide authority on the nervous system, Sir Charles Sherrington, is that these movements are merely signs of reflex action carried out by the lower nerve centres. They are seen in pigeons, rabbits, cats and dogs after removal of the great brain. Human experience of anæsthesia shows that the sensory areas of the great brain are far more sensitive than the lower centres; so, too, in the case of an interference with the supply of blood and oxygen by the brain. A monkey shuts its eyes and goes to sleep when the oxygen supply is greatly diminished in the air which it breathes, continues to sit and balance its movements: but it is at first difficult and then impossible to wake it up and make it openits eyes. Later, with still less oxygen supply, the motor centres fail and the animal falls over and convulsive movements occur. Convulsive escape movements are made when the oxygen is greatly and rapidly diminished, but the animal is by then unconscious."

The Director, Department of Applied Physiology, National Institute of Medical Research, writes in the Lancet, 1923, II, 1382, that when the throat is cut the centres in the lower parts of the nervous system *viz.*, the spinal bulb and cord—continue to act for a time. Deep, gasping respirations occur, and convulsive movements which press the blood out of the muscles and organs of the belly..... The whole of these actions result in almost complete drainage of blood and tissue-lymph out of the body." Openshaw says that by no other method can all the blood be removed from the body. Blood is forbidden in Islam.

The ordinary Islamic method of slaughtering ani-

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mals for food is very much like that of the Jews. The chief difference appears to be that in modern Judaism the Shochet (ritual slaughterer) must be examined, passed and certificated by the eccliastical authority as theoretically proficient and practically competent. A Jew who publicly violates the Sabbath is also ineligible to act as Shochet.

The Board of Deputies of British Jews, London, has collected and published the opinions of foreign experts on the method of slaughtering animals and I quote a few of them to show that the ritual method is superior.

Prof. Gustav Fritsch of Berlin says : " Meat well drained of blood I consider better than that in which the blood is congealed in the vessels after death."

Prof. Ferdinand Von Klug of Budapest says : " The meat of an animal killed by stunning goes bad much more quickly than that of the animal killed by evacuation of blood."

Dr. O. Wohler, Chief Staff Veterinary Officer, Gleiwitz, says that " the meat acquires better appearance and more lasting properties."

The Butchers of Alsfeld say that this method of slaughter " produces better tasting and lasting meat."

The President of the Meat Traders Federation, Gratz, says that it is among the safest and best methods .....meat lasts particularly well.

A chemist in the leather trade told Sir Leonard Hill that " the quality of leather is lowered by the presence of blood in the hide ; not only is the leather coloured by the blood, but suppleness is diminished."

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EID-UL-AZHA

By Shaikh Mubarik Ahmad, H.A., Ahmadiyya Muslim Missionary, Narobi.

The festival which the Muslims celebrated on December 19 all the world over, is called Eid-ul-Azha, or Eid-ul-Azhia. Some people wrongly call it Eid-ul-Zuha. In Arabic, the word " Zuha " signifies early part of the day, while ' Azha ' is the plural form of " Azhia, " which means " sacrifice. " As this Eid is intimately associated with a certain sacrifice, therefore, it is called Eid-ul-Azha, or Eid-ul-Qurban. This Eid is celebrated in commemoration of the sacrifice which Abraham made of his son Ismael (peace be on both) before his Lord.

The manner and the circumstances under which Abraham made this offering form one of the most stirring and touching chapters in human history. The story is so pathetic and intense that it moves even the most hard-hearted. We see in our own lives that a sincere and selfless sacrifice is always rewarded. So when it comes to offering a sacrifice before the Eternal Creator the magnitude of the result must be immense.

Briefly here is the story of Abraham's offering :—

When Abraham was eighty-six years old, Hagar bore him a son. The child was named Ismael because he was the outcome of age-stricken Abraham's most pathetic prayers to God. It might be pointed out that Hagar was a princess and not a maid. When the Royal Family of Egypt was convinced of the piety and Godliness of Abraham, they gave him Hagar in marriage. Sarah, Abraham's first wife did not bear him any children, and she began to despise Hagar and dealt harshly with her.

Now Abraham saw in a vision that he was slaying his son as an offering to God. Immediately he made up his mind to carry out God's behest and got ready

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to make an offering of the only son which he begot in old age. But as he stretched forth his hand and took the knife to slay his son, the Lord called unto him out of the heavens : " Lay not your hand upon your son. You have indeed fulfilled what you saw in the vision. " Slaying in the vision did not signify actual slaying of the son with a knife. The real interpretation of the dream was, as God made known to Abraham later on, that he would have to leave his son in the barren and waterless valley of Mecca. The act of slaying was symbolical of leaving his son in such a place where the weakling could get no food or water, and where, except for a long stretch of burning sand, nothing was visible.

After sometimes, in accordance with the will of God, Abraham conducted Hagar and Ismael to the destined wilderness where within a radius of several miles no water could be obtained and no crop or caravan could be seen. Now Ismael was his only son, and one whom the Lord had blessed and made fruitful and the ancestor of a great nation, and in whom nations of the earth were to be blessed. When Abraham departed from them, they had only a bottle of water which could not last more than twenty-four hours, and some dates on which they could not live for more than three days. This was their only possession. The place where they took shelter was a burning desert which was scorched with the rays of the fierce sun. Abraham was all patience. He was prepared to endure this separation, and controlled his emotions and affections. In spite of his outward calm, however, Hagar could make out that her husband was going to part from them for ever. Thereupon she enquired if he intended to leave them for ever in this wilderness. Abraham made no reply. She repeated her question, and at this also Abraham was silent. She was impatient and frightened, and repeated the same question with greater insistence. She did not know whether the cause of this act was the will of God or the displeasure of Sarah. Therefore, she made an appeal to Abraham's feelings and sentiments and said " Abraham ! why are you leaving us in this desert without water or food ?" Again he made no answer. Hagar then concluded that

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it might be the will of God and said, "Abraham ! Are you leaving us here under the instructions of God ?" Abraham was so overpowered with emotions that he could not utter a word. He could only point his finger towards heaven, which act signified that he was doing so under God's Command. Thereupon Hagar turned away, saying, " if this is His will, then He will not let us perish. "

When Abraham was out of their sight, he could no longer check his emotions and he prayed, " O Lord ! I am leaving my wife and my son to your care, therefore, take thou their charge. "

The scanty provision and water which the mother and son had, soon finished. The child began to cry out of thirst. Hagar began to run about in search of water. But in all that barren place no water could be seen. The condition of the child became worse and the mother thought that it would soon die. She would climb first one of the two hills known as Safa and Marva, where they were taking refuge, to see if any caravan was in sight. Then she would run to the other hill to see if she could see any caravan there. Thus she ran from one hill to the other seven times, but her efforts brought no result. When she was overcome with fatigue and completely spent, an angel of God called out to her. She thought that it was the voice of a mortal and cried, " O man of God ! Can you spare me some water ?" The Angel called out to her again and said, " O Hagar ! Fear not, God has heard the voice of thy son. " When she returned to the place where her son was dying for thirst, she saw a fountain of water. She cleared the spout of the spring and gave her child to drink. When the neighbouring tribes heard of the well, they came in large numbers and began to dwell there, after having obtained permission from Hagar. Gradually the barren valley of Mecca became a big city. In commemoration of Hagar's attempts to secure water for her son, Muslims run seven times between Safa and Marva during the (Haj) Pilgrimage.

We Muslims who slay animals in commemoration

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of Abraham's great sacrifice of his son, should always bear in mind that it is very easy to offer up animals for sacrifice but it is extremely difficult to sacrifice one's life, honour, property and comforts. Abraham did not give an offering of an animal, but he sacrificed his own wife and son. God accepted his offer and blessed him, so much so that God multiplied his seed as the stars of heaven. Now they cannot be numbered on account of their multitude.

God has blessed no other nation of the world as much as he has blessed Abraham and his nation. This process shall go on till Doomsday. A great part of the world honours and commemorates the generations of Abraham on account of their greatness.

Our sacrifices and offerings teach us this :—If we Muslims want to attain to the eminence and position achieved by Abraham and his generations, we will also have to enter into the supreme and complete spirit of sacrifice which was embodied in the unperishable drama enacted by Abraham, Hagar and Ismael. So if you Muslims wish to join in the Eid-ul-Azha celebrations in the real spirit, and wish that though in future the world may only outwardly celebrate the Eid festivals in commemoration of Abraham's sacrifices, yet yours be the real Eids, then inculcate in yourselves Abraham's virtue of full confidence in God, complete obedience and absolute sacrifice, which qualities can raise a man to the highest pinnacles. You may have ended your life on this earth but your name will be cherished for ages to come. Only those people deserve Abraham's Blessings who lead in the field of sacrifice and are prepared to offer up their dearest possessions.

May God give us strength to offer our dearest possessions in the manner to which Eid-ul-Azha is a pointer ; for without such devotion and sacrifice no spiritual success is possible.

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GLEANINGS AND GLIMPSES

The Christian Churches and the Colour Bar

By H. S. Scott, C.M.G.

At the outset of the war the Nazi theory of race superiority was referred to by many of us with a measure of complacency: 'That is not the way we British think of other races.' But there must have come moments when our complacency has been somewhat shaken. Are we quite happy about some of the things which we see going on in the British Empire? Are we satisfied, for instance, that the Northern Rhodesian miners' strike did not disclose an attitude hard to justify in those who claim to be above the prejudices of race differentiation? Are we quite satisfied that the conscription of African labour for European settlers in Kenya is entirely on all fours with our high principles of equal treatment for all? These are only two examples of the things which trouble some of us, because we are jealous for the honour of our own good name. This feeling of mental discomfort is reflected in Miss Margery Perhams's articles in the London *Times*[1] in which a call for something approaching equalitarian treatment is sounded. Does it not also look as if this feeling of mental discomfort were shared by the Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa? General Smuts' recent Capetown speech on race relations[2] reads rather like the self-examination of a man with a troubled conscience. It certainly must have caused something of a shock to those in South Africa who believe in racial dominaion.

It is a commonplace that the problems of race relations arise in every country in which western civilization and backward peoples are found side by side. In greater or lesser degree the problem is universal: it is found in Africa, in America and in the Pacific.

1. *The Times*, March 13th, 14th, 1942.
2. *The basis of Trusteeship*. Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations.

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In this article it is not proposed to speak of the colour bar in areas outside the British Empire, or indeed outside Africa for it is in Africa that the difficulties of race relation are most pronounced.

In the west coast colonies the European is present in small numbers. In general the principle is not merely recognized that the African who is fit for advancement can and will receive opportunities of advancement, but it is actually carried into effect. The application of the principle may be slow and halting, but the fact of equality is indubitably admitted. In the south of the continent the fact that a man is an African not only puts him under definite disabilities in the social and political sphere but in the economic field is a legal bar to his employment in certain forms of work. The nearer one gets to the Union of South Africa the more definite is the policy of racial discrimination. The colour bar has spread northward from the Union with European settlement. That is obviously the case as regards Southern Rhodesia and is also true of Northern Rhodesia. It is probably equally true of Kenya, and naturally so, for many of the early settlers in Kenya came from South Africa. The Kenya settlers have indeed associated themselves with the native policy of the Union, for we cannot have forgotten how, when they fell foul of Lord Passfield and paramountcy, they went to General Hertzog for advice and help.

We are accustomed to speak of a colour bar as if there were a natural antagonism between races of different colour, but those of us who have had children to bring up among races of other colours than our own must admit that in childhood there is no such thing as colour prejudice. Children of European and African origin will play with one another without any colour sense. The colour bar as it now operates did not originate in antagonism of colour. In its earliest manifestation it was a cultural rather than a racial bar. In the earliest days of the Cape Colony the feeling of the Dutch colonists towards the Hottentots was that of a dominating group which justified its domination by virtue of its civilization and especially its religion. That this is so is shown by the admission of converted Hottentots to full membership of the European community. That admission even

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included and accepted intermarriage.[3] In the early day the bar between the European and the African could be broken by a process of acculturation.

In more modern times we might compare the attitude of many of the European settlers in Kenya. That attitude was not one of hostility to black men as such. It was rather the attitude of the squire to the peasant labourer. It combined the friendly patronage of the landowner (and often of the landowner's wife) with the demand for labour. The attitude of the landowner to tenantry in the old country presisted in the new. That relationship had depended for its justification on the sense of responsibility which was one of the characteristics of the British landowning classes before the effects of the industrial revolution spread into the agricultural sphere. It is obvious that such a relationship, originally a personal one, cannot survive the industrialization of land cultivation in large estates.

Where the subordinate ranks of labour consist exclusively of members of another race the social distinction between master and servant tends naturally to become a matter of race and that leads to the adoption of the test of colour as the demarcation between master and servant.

There is admittedly another and a very different view. The constitution of the early Boer republics affirmed that there could be no equality between black and white in Church or State.[4] That view has persisted and was in a measure reaffirmed less than a year ago as a cause of difference between sections of the Christian churches in South Africa.

We must therefore conclude that to-day the colour bar does operate purely as a racial bar based on the demand of the European to dominate the African.

It is obviously impossible in this article to do more than indicate briefly the main aspects of the colour bar in the principal spheres in which it operates.

3. E. Walker, *History of South Africa*, p. 44.
4. E. Walker, *History of South Africa*, p. 276.

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A fundamental question in the relations between European and African is that of land. If all the land were free to all or if the African had so much land that he could live on it and develop it as much (or as little) as he wished, he would be in a position himself to control his relations with the European and could evade the domination of colour. That is no doubt an over-simplification but there is enough truth in it to indicate the supreme importance of the land question.

But we must be careful not to fall into the error of ascribing the present unequal position as regards land as due to barefaced robbery on the part of the European. In many cases the land came into the possession of the Europeans as unoccupied and uninhabited land. That was certainly true in South Africa, where the waves of black immigration from the North met the Europeans advancing from the South and West. Then the battle went to the strong. The grants to Europeans of large areas of land in Kenya have been justified on the ground that they were unoccupied. That may be an overstatement, but it is certainly an exaggeration to say in general terms that the African has been driven out of his land to make room for Europeans.

This problem of land adjustment seems insoluble in territories in which there is a European land-holding community as well as a native land-holding community. Even if it were untrue that the European had at first occupied lands unoccupied it would be hard to justify the eviction of the European who has after some generations acquired possession in all good faith. But the problem goes deeper. It is affected by the method of occupying and owning and using land. In the present stage of development it is obvious that the backward races cannot hold land as individuals in free and open competition with the more advanced Europeans, and the African is moving towards individual ownership.

We are forced by this land problem into the need for discriminatory legislation of some kind. Apparently the only method of fair discrimination is that of securing to the African possession of reserved areas. The moment that step is taken we are faced by the recurring question as to the size and nature of the areas to be reserved as well as by the cry of the European

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that the territory is kept back from production and prosperity by the inadequacy of the agricultural methods of the African. That leads in turn to such proposals as we have recently seen for the imposition of compulsory labour in Northern Rhodesia and Kenya. From such compulsion it is difficult not to shrink. It seems only justifiable even in the stress of war if we can be assured that every inducement has first been offered to the African himself to increase production by improved methods and adequate marketing opportunities.

In the industrial sphere we are faced with open discrimination on the ground of colour. In the Northern Provinces of the Union the African living in a European area is in effect a serf attached to the soil of his European landlord. He cannot move from place to place to sell his labour without the possession of a pass. The same applies in Southern Rhodesia and the pass system in a less onerous form has spread to Kenya. It is in the South a survival of the principle that an African's first responsibility is to work for a European master. Infraction of the law is inevitably frequent and the effect of the large number of prosecutions is that a large proportion of those committed to prison are there on account of crimes without moral significance. The effect of such imprisonment is far from insignificant.

Two further restrictions may be mentioned. The first is that whereby in South Africa and in Southern Rhodesia certain kinds of work are forbidden to the African. He may not, however skilled, perform the work which is held to be the prerogative of the skilled European. This restriction has in effect spread to Northern Rhodesia.

Lastly, it is a criminal offence for the African to break his contract of service. This means that he may not combine and strike, for the essence of the right to strike lies in the power to withhold one's labour. The result of such discrimination is that the African sees examples of Europeans employing the strike weapon to improve their wages and is himself prevented from using similar means.

It is not necessary to dilate upon the political status of the African. In the Union the limited right of enfranchisement in one Province has during the last few years been lost to the

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African. In its place he has now the right to elect four senators as the direct representatives of the Africans of the whole Union It is at least open to question whether in practice the African of the Union has not gained by this change. The senators whom he has chosen have displayed great and earnest enthusiasm in the cause of their constitutents. But the sting remains: 'We were once voters on the electors' roll of the Assembly, like the Europeans. Now we are relegated to special representatives in the Senate.'

In the Crown colonies which are multi-racial in character the African has no share in the election of members of the legislature. He is represented by a nominated European. In this respect the Union does at least give the African a better chance of making his voice heard in the political sphere.

Such in brief are some of the ways in which colour discrimination operates in Africa. It appears to rest on two fundamental beliefs.

The first is that the European is innately superior to the African and that it is his right and duty to maintain his domination over him. That was not the liberal view of the Cape Colony in the latter half of the nineteenth century after the bitterness evoked by the gradual freeing of the Hottentots by the historic Ordinance No. 50 of 1928 and the emancipation of slaves had died down, but it was still the view of many Europeans in South Africa. How far such a belief still persists it may be hard to say: it certainly persists in some quarters but it is doubtful whether the bulk of the European population of South Africa or Southern Rhodesia would endorse it as a ground of policy.

The second consideration which impels the retention of racial discrimination in a multi-racial society is the belief that only by means of the colour bar can the standards of life of the white community be maintained and that standard must at all costs be maintained Lord Hailey observes that

> it is held that this end can best be secured by confining the native population as far as possible to the lands reserved for its use and by applying discriminatory laws to restrict its

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activities at the points where industrial or domestic employment brings it into contact with the economic or social life of the whole population.[5]

What is to be the attitude of the Christian Church in the face of these problems of racial discrimation?

To the question put in so general a form there can be only one answer. The Church cannot accept the principle of racial discrimination and remain truly Christian. It must oppose it with all its might.

But we must also face the question whether racial discrimination cannot be justified in the interests of the African. That it is justifiable is undoubtedly the view, and the sincere view, of many. This view is in effect set forth by the Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia in the government declaration of Native Policy.[6] His argument amounts to this: European and African are blood brothers separated by thousands of years of different environments and modes of life. When they are living side by side one of three results is likely to emerge. The European may go back—he may become indolent like the African. The African may become European except in colour due to European stimulus while the European retains his equality, or lastly, the European may deteriorate a little and the African may improve a little. It is the second of these three results at which Sir Godfrey Huggins aims. In justifying the policy of Southern Rhodesia he claims that land segregation at the present stage of the African development is right and fair. He justifies discrimination in wages because the European standards of life must be maintained on account of the disparity that exists to-day. At the same time he sincerely wishes to raise the standard of the African within his own sphere, since it is his opinion that the preservation of European standards of civilization depends on African advance. He recognizes that the advance of the African will not please those who demand that the function of the African must be to provide cheap labour in perpetuity—but he does not make it clear how European standards of living can be

5. Romanes Lecture 1941, p. 19. Oxford University Press.
6 *Statement of Native Policy in Southern Rhodesia*, November 1941.

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maintained without such labour. In the political sphere he offers no immediate share in the political machinery of Parliament though he does seem to envisage the possibility of equality in the remote future and he suggests that at present there are adequate sympathetic European champions of Africans in Parliament.

In regard to the pass laws, the Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia admits that the prosecutions are great in number and he suggests in a somewhat airy manner that infraction of these laws is comparable with the mischief of the schoolboy. On the other hand it is suggested that the African need not be affected by the pass laws for he need not come to the European areas ; that is an argument which runs counter, not only to the maintenance of the European standard of life, but also to the encouragement (emphasized elsewhere) to the African to earn good wages in European areas.

We must give credit to the Prime Minister for this effort to visualize what he would call the meeting of the two parallel lines in some very distant future. What his pronouncement fails to do is to hold out any hope that there is a considered policy to remove within a reasonable time the injustices which such parallelism involves.

Professor Hoernlé has summarized the present situation in his depressing Phelps Stokes lectures.[7] He observes that the present system of race relations is like a trap in which we are all caught. None of us is happy or at ease in the trap, but which ever way we turn we see no escape. There is certainly no escape in Sir Godfery Huggins's complaisant parallelism. There is apparently no hope at any rate in South Africa of an acceptance of true assimilation. As regards segregation, the Europeans appears to believe in it only in so far as it suits his economic interests.

7. *South African Native Policy and the Liberal Spirit*, p. 173. Lovedale Press, 1939.

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But the churches cannot accept an attitude of defeatism. There are clearly certain duties which are inescapable. In the first place we must make ourselves clearly and accurately acqainted with the facts about the colour bar, we must study its operation and observe its effects. Then, secondly, the churches must declare that as Christian bodies they are irrevocably opposed to racial discrimination. They must indeed take care that in the Church itself the colour bar is not allowed to operate. Are we quite sure that it does not operate to some degree? If we try to compromise within the Church itself we cannot hope to convince the dominant race of our sincerity or of the validity of our beliefs.

There is another duty in which it is possible that the churches are not altogether free from criticism, namely in their attitude towards the European; do we always recognize for instance that the position in South Africa is not the responsibility of this generation but of the past?

What should our attitude be to the European population? Surely something like this. To those who control their own destinies and the destinies of the African population we must say: 'We deplore the conditions under which, largely through force of circumstances, you are living in an atmosphere of injustice. We recognize that the only pressure that we can bring to bear upon you is a moral pressure; but we think it right to remind you that as Christians we have the duty of helping the oppressed and that duty we cannot evade even if it appears to you to be an unwarranted interference.'

To those who are not yet wholly independent of imperial control we must make it clear that we extended the same sympathy to them as to those to whom independence has been accorded. But our duty forces us to exercise all possible pressure upon those who are responsible in England to see that the infection of the colour bar does not spread more deeply into the areas of more recent settlement and that the power to exercise racial discrimination is withheld until the will to exercise it gives way to a reasoned belief in true equality.

—*The International Review of Missions.*

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